German Generals Demand Atom Arms, P. 4

Mansfield's Wise Program for Africa, P. 2; The "Eastland" Connecticut Sent the U. S. Senate, P. 3

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VIII, NO. 31 SEPTEMBER 5, 1960 101 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

After Our Failure on Cuba at San Jose

The maintenance of a true hemispheric solidarity is worth a great deal to the United States and the other peoples of this hemisphere. But it will not be achieved if we continue to let our vision be clouded by our own U.S. propaganda apparatus, if we take such paper declarations as were achieved by carrot-and-stick tactics at the O.A.S. meeting as marks of esteem and if we are not prepared to treat our Latin American neighbors as real equals and to see the world through their eyes as well as our own. Among the obstacles is the U.S. press which often seemed to be covering the San Jose conference as if it were a claque for Secretary Herter. Another is a tendency to demagogy much like that which we deplore in Dr. Castro; Senator Kennedy, in particular, seems so anxious to make anti-Eisenhower political capital of the Cuban situation that he is indulging in the kind of over-simplified anti-Red rhetoric which may tie his own hands against more sensible policies if elected.

Solidarity, Not Monopoly

Hemispheric solidarity will best be achieved if we North Americans do not over-reach ourselves. It is too much to ask underdeveloped Latin American nations to forego what underdeveloped nations elsewhere enjoy—a chance to deal with both sides in the East-West competition. We will fail if we try to prevent the Cubans or the Venezuelans or the Brazilians from doing in this respect what the Indians, the Egyptians and the Africans are doing. Hemispheric solidarity will break down if made a mask for U.S. monopoly, especially when the Latin Americans feel that it is only the emergence of Castro and the beginnings of Soviet economic aid which have stampeded us into a belated and inadequate Latin American aid program. Our aim should be to prevent the Soviet bloc from obtaining military bases or military allies in this hemisphere, and in this aim we will find ourselves helped by the natural good sense of our neighbors if we deal with them wisely. It was not wise to raise the Red scare against Dr. Castro at San Jose, especially on the basis of the flimsy "evidence" Secretary Herter offered. It was silly to ask little Cuba to "renounce" the threat of Soviet military aid in event of an attack by its colossal neighbor, especially when that same neighbor was making implied threats about "going it alone" against Cuba if the O.A.S. did not cooperate. The Cuban Foreign Minister told the O.A.S. "The threat coming from Communist countries outside the American continent is, to say the least hypothetical, while the aggressions and threats of the United States are very real." *(Le Monde,* Aug. 27). That is how many Latin Americans feel.

Our strategy at San Jose has failed. It was hoped by the State Department that if we supported action against our old friend Trujillo, the Latin American States would join us in sanctions against our new challenger Castro. We must now prepare to go it alone against Cuba, knowing that every overt step will arouse Latin America against us, or we must change our course. The Cuban Foreign Minister at San Jose said Cuba was ready to resolve its conflict with us by bilateral negotiations. Mr. Eisenhower, who continues to speak of Cuba with a praiseworthy restraint, indicated at his last press conference that the door to talks was still open. Nothing would win us greater esteem in Latin America at this time than to take the Cuban Foreign Minister at his word and formally propose negotiations. It would help to wipe out the ugly memory left by the way John Foster Dulles strong-armed Guatemala. It would prove Dr. Castro wrong in charging that we plan armed aggression. To make peace with the man who is Latin America's hero, to accept social reform in Cuba, would lay the foundations for a new friendship with our neighbors. The longer we let this quarrel go on, the more costly will be its resolution.

If Not For That Fellow Castro

Senator LAUSCHE: This book shows that Cuba had the highest per capita gross national product of any country in South America [sic] while Batista was in power. . . . To what [then] do you ascribe the success of the Communists in Cuba?

Under Secretary of State DILLON: Well, I think the reason for the social revolution in Cuba, which is not necessarily the same thing as the success of the Communists, was largely due to the fact that this gross national product was not divided in what many Cubans felt was a fair way. The great majority of the Cubans who lived in the fields, the campesinos, the agricultural people, the producers, didn't own their own land and worked only a certain number of months a year—it is the nature of the sugar business—and were out of work the rest of the time. They didn't think that they had a fair share.

—Before Senate Foreign Relations, Aug. 15, on the President's request for a $500,000,000 Latin aid fund.

Rep. FASCELL (D., Fla.): Was it after the expropriation of all properties of America in Cuba that the U.S. finally announced this program?

Under Secretary DILLON: I think that was just an unfortunate coincidence.

—Before House Foreign Affairs on same, Aug. 23.

"Although there is no immediate need for the expenditure of funds under this program, the authorization for the appropriation of such funds is urgent. There has been acceleration of interest on the part of Latin American governments in social development during recent months. The behavior of the Castro regime in Cuba has undoubtedly contributed to this interest."

—House Report 2163, Aug. 25, recommending approval of the President's $500,000,000 request.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From His Historic Senate Speech Aug. 29 Proposing East-West Cooperation In UN For Development

Mansfield Asks U. S. to Insulate Africa From the Cold War

By Senator Mike Mansfield (D. Mont.)

"I believe the emerging African peoples have had enough of the role of pawns moved on the chessboards of others. They will not meekly assume that role again and they will react against those who seek to return them to it. It may be too much to expect but it is not too much to attempt to insulate an emergent Africa from the international, political and ideological storms which now sweep the rest of the world.

Not Pro-Communist or Pro-Western But Pro-African

"I would suggest that our policies must flow from the following principles: First. This Nation should give its support, diplomatically and otherwise, to the end that independence and human equality will eventually be achieved throughout Africa. . . . Second . . . This Nation should use whatever influence it can against a centrifugal fragmentation of existing political units in Africa. However powerful the divisive forces of an ancient tribalism may still be, they are the forces of a dying Africa. . . . We should resist these tendencies, however, if they derive from a narrow tribalism or a sweeping racist Pan-Africanism. . . . Third . . . We must learn, quickly, as much as we can about the emergent African leadership and, if we are to learn accurately, we will eschew such inapplicable frames of reference as pro-Communist or pro-Western. The leadership that matters for the future of Africa will be neither one nor the other. It will be pro-African in the finest sense of the term in that it will be dedicated to the welfare of its own people. . . .

"The challenge of Africa is not a call to greater propaganda battles between us and the Soviet Union. The challenge of Africa is to the world. It is a challenge to help open in peace the doors of modern life for the peoples of Africa, for their benefit and for the still unfathomed benefits which may flow to mankind from that opening.

Specifics of A U. S. Policy

"First. That all requests for military training missions and military aid from the African nations henceforth be referred to the United Nations and that such missions, as approved by the Security Council, be supplied solely under the aegis of the UN. . . . Second. That the United States seek agreement with the Soviet Union to the end that both nations shall refrain from seeking military bases in Africa and from sending military forces to any part of Africa except as the Security Council may direct. . . . Third. That the UN effort in the Congo, and similar efforts which may be required and sought elsewhere in Africa, henceforth be financed by a four-quarters fund: one quarter supplied by the U.S.; one-quarter by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; one-quarter by Western Europe and one-quarter by other members of the United Nations.

"Fourth. That the four quarters fund be used, further, as the principal instrument for financing a substantial program of technical aid to Africa . . . with technicians and teachers supplied on a similar four-quarter division, under the general direction of the UN Secretary General; and further, as this effort comes into operation, that bilateral assistance to all nations in Africa be progressively curtailed. . . .

"The difficulty which confronts our policy is not only that we may do too little but that we may be impelled to do too much and in ill-adapted ways and hence, contribute to the creation on the African continent of still another front in the cold war. We shall not be thanked by the Africans if that is the effect of our contribution."

We Just Can't Stop Giggling As We Think of That Next War

DUGWAY, UTAH, Aug. 27—The reason that the hitherto restricted Dugway Proving Ground was opened to reporters this week was the Army hope that more public education about CBR [chemical, bacteriological and radiological] weapons would destroy some popular illusions.

The Army made one point well: It is more humane to incapacitate people with present chemical weapons than atom bombs with fire bombs, flame-throwers, artillery shells or all standard accepted military weapons. . . . Given a choice of ways to die, any reasonable person would take 'GB,' the new nerve gas. . . . GB death is quick. . . .

The Army Chemical Corps also is experimenting with non-lethal gases. In the laboratory they paralyze animals or muddle their brains without lasting harm. Most of the gases are painless; some are actually fun for the giggling volunteer soldiers trying them out.

—Washington Star, August 28: "Army Wants to Show Gas War Is Merciful."

Senate Duet in Praise of Trujillo, Franco and Strong Arm Government

Mr. EASTLAND (Miss.): Is it not true that Trujillo has been a friend of the United States?

Mr. ELLENDER (La.): I do not believe there is any doubt about that. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: Did the Senator from Louisiana find that the people there were happy and contented?

Mr. ELLENDER: I saw no evidence of unrest. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: Is it not true that the Dominican Republic has had more revolutions than any other country in the history of the world, and that Trujillo has given the country stability—something it never had before?

Mr. ELLENDER: There is no question about that.

Mr. EASTLAND: Is it not also true that it takes a strong arm to rule in countries of that sort and in Latin America?

Mr. ELLENDER: . . . Based upon my observation of conditions in the Dominican Republic as compared with conditions in some of the other countries I visited in that area, it might be said that a little of that same kind of leadership should be applied in some additional areas. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: After Franco came into power in Spain, we applied economic sanctions against his government. . . . When the realities of the cold war forced us to a recognition of the necessity that we establish bases in Spain, we found that we had to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to assist in the improvement of the Spanish economy in order to make Spain the strong and dependable ally which she is today. If we help to tear down the present regime in the Dominican Republic, the day will come when we shall have to spend hundreds of millions in an effort, possibly a vain effort, to restore the economy.

—U. S. Senate, August 24.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dodd's Attack on Dr. Pauling Calls For A Fight Back From the Grass Roots

Time to Make Connecticut Aware It Sent An Eastland to the Senate

As we go to press, A. L. Wirin is about to argue a motion before the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia asking it to enjoin Senators Eastland and Dodd from enforcing an order requiring Dr. Linus Pauling to give the Senate Internal Security Committee the names of all persons who helped to circulate his famous petition to the United Nations for a cessation of nuclear testing. The two Senators are named as chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the committee.

The motion has already lost in the District Court, and its chances are slim in the Circuit Court. An unusually firm line of precedents is against interference by Court injunction with Congressional investigation. Mr. Wirin relies upon the distinction that he is asking the Court to enjoin a specific order not a general line of questioning. The probable answer of the Circuit Court will be that nevertheless it cannot act until Dr. Pauling refuses to obey the order and is cited for contempt.

Appeal to Supreme Court Likely

Dr. Pauling has been ordered to appear before the Committee September 15. His counsel will probably try to get an order staying the hearing pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. The prospects for this are also poor.

We do not have the space to enter into a legal discussion of why this is so. The power of investigation, though savagely abused for witch hunting purposes in our generation, is one of the essential powers of any legislature. Its use to expose basic social and economic evils made possible much of the reform brought about during Roosevelt's New Deal and Wilson's earlier New Freedom.

The Courts may ultimately hold that the Senate Internal Security Committee went beyond the proper bounds of investigation in asking Dr. Pauling for the names of those who helped circulate his famous petition but the Courts are unlikely to enjoin the committee in advance from asking for the names. One of the strongest and most famous precedents against such judicial action lies in the unsuccessful suit by William Randolph Hearst to prevent Senator (now Supreme Court Justice) Black from exposing the fake telegrams with which Congress was flooded in the fight against the Public Utility Holding Company Act during the 30's.

Fortunately not all the remedies for the abuses of governmental power lie in the courts. In this case remedies are available in the political field. The investigation launched by the Internal Security subcommittee into the public campaign against nuclear testing is the pet project of Thomas J. Dodd, a Democrat to the right of Eisenhower, as he again demonstrated a few days ago when he joined the most benighted of the Southerners to vote against the Antarctic treaty.

We wish we knew just how the liberal Democrats of Connecticut came to choose as successor to Chester Bowles a man like Dodd whose outlook was molded by his long service in the FBI. Senator Dodd in his opposition to the cessation of nuclear testing approaches the issue like a typical FBI man. He tends by occupational training to see things under the bed, to view science as well as politics in terms of conspiracy, as a cops-and-robbers melodrama.

The result is a recrudescence of McCarthyism, the appearance in the Internal Security pillory of a distinguished scientist, a series of private hearings preparatory to a public attack on the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy—all under the aegis of Senator Dodd. Though the public policy of the United States as set by President Eisenhower is to strive for international agreement permanently ending all nuclear tests, those who support this policy are to be smeared as Red, pink or duped. We think it time for a series of public meetings in Connecticut to fight back against these tactics and let its people know what kind of man they sent the U.S. Senate.

We Rise to Applaud

The Democrats of Tennessee for renominating Kefauver, a setback to segregationists, ensuring return to Washington of one of the ablest and bravest men in the Senate; the bi-partisan Senate coalition which ratified the Antarctic treaty 66-21, a precedent for further advances toward peace, since it removes one continent from the great Power struggle and opens all its installations, Soviet and American, to full inspection; President Eisenhower, for deciding against the wishes of Pentagon and AEC to continue with the nuclear test ban talks rather than risk breaking them up by underground nuclear explosions; the President, again, for naming James J. Wadsworth, a sincere champion of disarmament, to succeed Henry Cabot Lodge as our representative to the UN.

Des Moines Tribune Appalled by Witch Hunter Ike Has Just Kicked Upstairs

On Sept. 1 Richard Arens, formerly staff director of the Un-American Activities Committee, was "kicked upstairs" by appointment of President Eisenhower to a $19,000 a year job as Commissioner of the Court of Claims. This editorial from the Des Moines Register, reprinted here in abridged form from the Washington Post of August 27 may serve as his valedictory and as a reminder that powerful newspapers in this country want the committee, not just its staff director eliminated.—IFS

"Richard Arens, staff director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, gave an astounding speech in Des Moines before the National Conference of Police Associations. It reinforced our belief that this committee, which is now headed by Rep. Francis E. Walters (D. Pa.) should be abolished.

"Arens said that President Eisenhower's patriotism was somewhat questionable because Mr. Eisenhower introduced his grandchildren to Nikita Khrushchov. He said it was 'morally wrong' to invite Khrushchov to the United States last Fall. He was angry because, he said, there were 109 employes now in the State Department who had been fired previously as security risks.

"He was critical of the Supreme Court for its opinions in several security and passport cases. He said the American Association of University Professors was not to be trusted. He also said editors of some newspapers which have been critical of his committee were not to be trusted. Arens' suspicious, fears and undocumented charges would not be worthy of mention if they represented only his personal viewpoint. But unfortunately this is not the case. This is the approach which the Un-American Activities Committee has taken generally. The Committee seems to think that anyone who criticizes its methods of operation is a Communist or a Communist 'dupe.'"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U. S. Press Silent But Western Europe Alarmed by Memo Demanding Nuclear Arms

The German Generals Reappear Openly in West German Politics

Little attention has been paid by the American press to the memorandum published by the West German generals Aug. 19 demanding nuclear arms for the Bundeswehr. This (as can be seen from the adjoining box) created alarm in Western Europe and in Germany itself. It was disturbing for three reasons, first, in that it openly demanded arms which Germany was supposed to have foresworn in 1955 on the eve of its admission to NATO; secondly, because it marked the first open intrusion of the Bundeswehr generals into politics, breaching its facade of civilian control, and, thirdly, because this may foreshadow a change in NATO strategy.

Aggressive Arms For An Aggressive Diplomacy

Originally, NATO's forces were supposed to be a defensive "tripwire," bringing into play against any invader the full force of American power. But if the Germans within NATO are to have atomic arms, particularly the Polaris missile, they will be in a position again to engage in an aggressive diplomacy.

In this connection, too little attention has also been paid to the pending recommendation of General Norstad, the NATO commander, that the Western allies lift the restrictions which limit German naval vessels to 3,000 tons. The German press is already discussing proposals to build 6,000 ton destroyers which would be big enough to carry nuclear missiles. It is said reassuringly that the warheads would remain in American custody, but the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* (Aug. 25) asked ironically whether "on every German destroyer there would be an American passenger with the key to an atomic warhead chamber in his pocket."

German political aims keep pace with these military developments. On July 9 at Dusseldorf, Dr. Adenauer told an audience of young people that "if the German people stood fast with the West then the day would come when East Prussia would again be free." And on Aug. 28, his Vice Chancellor, Erhard, told a refugee rally in Cologne that Upper Silesia, now held by Poland, "is German and will remain so." *(Baltimore Sun.* Aug. 29.) In Poland and in Russia these words will be read as warning signals.

Voices of Alarm in West Europe

"The publication of a pamphlet by the Bundeswehr leaders demanding that their forces should be equipped with nuclear weapons . . . is a serious matter . . . the German generals appear to be telling the political leadership what must be done. It is only four years since the Soldatengesetz, the legal basis for the new Bundeswehr, was approved. One of its main aims was to prevent the army from ever again becoming a state within the state."

—The Times (London) Aug. 22

"Denouncing the memorandum as 'the generals' first massive intrusion into politics,' the Social Democratic military expert, Herr Merten, has asked whether the Bundeswehr is now reaching for the nuclear warheads that are at present in American keeping."

—The Economist (London) Aug. 27

"In no country is it desirable for the military authorities to use their official position to canvass controversial views to the general public. This is particularly the case in Germany, where the political power of the armed forces was so recently and so frightfully misused to serve the ends of the Nazis."

—The News Chronicle (London) Aug. 26

"In the name of the Bundeswehr and with the support if not of the Federal government, at least with that of Minister of Defense Strauss, the authors of the memorandum for the first time clearly formulate a demand that violates the agreements reached in 1955 between the Federal Republic and its future NATO allies. According to these . . . the Bundeswehr was not to have any ABC (atomic, bacteriological or chemical) arms."

—Le Monde (Paris) Aug. 21-22

"If this is called democracy in Bonn, then one must worry about the future of the Bundesrepublik. . . . The Bundesrepublik entered NATO on the understanding that her armed forces would remain limited and would not try to take over the political leadership of NATO. If this is to be changed, much else must be called in question. . . . From the day on which the German army autocratically disposes of nuclear arms, the third world war will no longer be avoidable."

—Algemeen Handelsblad (Amsterdam) quoted in the Suddeutsche Zeitung (Munich) Aug. 25

Many Thanks for the Kind Notes Coming In With Renewals and New Subs

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington 15, D. C.

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:*

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

9/5/60

Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly

5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.

Washington 15, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington 15, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED